the corpse of a dearly loved child is ~~often~~ occasionally placed above, instead of under the ground. If the parents desire to do this, they erect in the cemetery a carved figure of one of their ~~kwalitsa~~ crests and deposit the coffin on top of it. This is, of course, a graphic representation of the deceased's origin myth and symbolic of the ~~manner~~ way in which the dead person has become associated with it.

According to several of the older men, cremation was practised by the Bella Coola for some time after the first settlement of the earth. A fire was built outside the house and the body thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to Nusmät·a. It is probable that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola are familiar with cremation as carried out by the Kitlobe and the Carriers, if not at present, at least during the lifetime of elderly Kimsquit. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. It is unlikely that observation of the rites of these two tribes could ~~have~~ account for Bella Coola beliefs concerning cremation among their own ~~neighbours~~ ancestors.

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner, though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach Nusmät·a; that part which becomes the ghost is able to ~~travel~~ go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because Älquntäm decrees the ~~de~~ length of ~~a person's~~ life and any ~~arbitrary~~ wilful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and ~~the writer heard of~~ four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through ~~inability to urinate~~ stricture of the bladder.

On the whole, Bella Coola methods ~~of~~ for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from subaerial exposure to interment was probably not due to ~~white~~ foreign influence, although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position. It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white ~~influence~~ teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

Rites Following Disposal of the Body

Some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather the remainder of his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by sympathetic friends. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects ~~jects~~ are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand. It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should ~~thus~~ be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this: ~~Firstly,~~ (1) it is considered indecent ~~for anyone~~ to use the possessions of a dead person; ~~and~~ they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so; ~~Secondly,~~ (2) the ghost of the deceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness. Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession, is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom but is justified by considering ~~it~~ the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento

of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the deceased entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive the object.

~~Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common~~ Bella Bella practice. In such a case a small shelter is built immediately after the funeral and objects which cannot be burnt are piled within. In recent years the number of ~~non-inflammable~~ incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other articles obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed on the grave, ~~or in the house over it~~ they can be exchanged for others, ~~by relatives of the deceased~~ publicly by a relative. The writer remembers an instance in which the husband and children of a dead woman had put a new sewing-machine in the ceremony. ~~near her grave.~~ Her father decided to replace this with an older one belonging to his wife. The exchange was done publicly, ~~in the presence of the husband, who seemed to take it as a matter of course.~~ The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, ~~does not resent the transfer,~~ does not resent an open transfer; ~~without concealment,~~ and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague feeling that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but ~~the~~ its essence, ~~of it~~ which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystalized to such a state that it is customary to replace ~~deposited~~ goods laid on the grave with others. ~~This is rarely done.~~ Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause hard feelings if carried out by anyone ~~other than~~ except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and ~~non-inflammable~~ which cannot be burnt articles are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and it is rarely that an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Heracleum Lanatum (Michx.), a food plant much used

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by the Bella Coola, grows frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never disturbed except under the dire necessity of obtaining a portion of a skeleton for magical purposes.(1) In such a case, the coffin lid must be lifted up away from the opner ~~and~~ that he looks within over its upturned edge. A person failing to obey this injunction ~~taboo would~~ will soon die.

Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There too must be laid dried salmon which a man ~~has~~ smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent to the Bella Coola. In recent years the crop in a field tilled and sown by a dead person is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. The canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Colla are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or which has been in contact with as a corpse.

The rituals described above may be considered as ~~of a~~ religious in nature; almost equally important are the social requirements of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This indebtedness falls on the near relatives though all members of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed which did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so ~~would~~ brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the instincts and minds of chiefs.

(1). See p. ,

Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until that time. Such was often true even in former years although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly recompensing those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony such as a non-sacred sisaok dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, adavntage is often taken of the gathering to make payments or perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present, it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the kwa'tinta, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place subsequent to a funeral is the cleansing from the taint of death of near relatives of the deceased and of those who have handled the corpse. Pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. If Spring Salmon or olachen are running, they have become contaminated with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that Sa'tma comes and sits on the coffin during every fu-

neral, seeking further victims. Death has so contaminated a widow or widower that she or he will fall an easy prey unless ceremonially purified. No special acts are carried out between interment and the burning of goods four days later, but the following four days must be spent in a small shelter of branches behind the village, hidden from sight in the forest. In this the man or woman lies on the ground with legs close together and beat at the knees, in the same position as an adolescent girl during the four days after the first menstrual discharge. A male friend accompanies a widower; a female, a widow. This companion keeps a fire burning and administers to the comfort of the patient, for such a bereaved person is considered to be. Every evening the two return home and leave again the following morning. On one of these days, the companion scours the woods of the village to find four spruce saplings growing within sight of each other in an east to west direction. To this place he leads the survivor on the morning after the fourth day of concealment (1) in the shelter. He bends down the top of the western sapling and ties it into a loop with a rope composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. The widower, or widow, crawls through this opening to the east and then makes a circle, sunwise, around the sapling. Passing to the next one, the same procedure is repeated, and so in succession for the third and fourth, each being left tied into a loop. There are at least two variations in this rite:— Instead of passing through four saplings, some individuals choose to crawl four times through a single one, with a sunwise circuit intervening in every case. If the survivor be a member of a family in which it is customary to use four saplings, and if the friend cannot find four in proper alignment, he cuts a number of spruce branches and sets them upright, butts in the ground, leaving a small holex between them. Four sets of these are arranged, as substitutes for four saplings, and the crawling through takes place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the widower puts on and

(1). There is variation in the exact time for this rite. Some individuals practice on the fifth day after death and omit the waiting in the shelter.

returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death.

The above rite protects ~~the~~ widower or widow but does not affect the fact that for one year ~~he is~~ they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. ~~He~~ They must ~~not~~ do not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. ~~Such~~ is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason ~~he~~ they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If ~~a widow or widower~~ they wish to travel on the ocean, ~~he~~ they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called Sq'an'ɬi and there is thought to be blood on it. To indicate ~~his~~ the status, a person mourning ~~his~~ a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards. Should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, ~~his~~ the new consort ~~would~~ will soon die.

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behavior, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Both widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; ~~and if this~~ this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people ~~this~~ it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case ~~the~~ all taboos and restrictions automatically ~~lapse~~ cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow ~~this~~ a decent period to elapse. These ~~taboos and restrictions~~ requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and religious rites affecting the whole community. In spite of the probitions enforced, it is said that a widow or widower usually becomes fat after the death of ~~his~~ the partner. This observation agrees with several instances known to the writer, but whether it is of universal application is doubtful, although the Bella Coola emphatically state ~~that this is~~ the case.

The Memorial Potlatch.

Only wealthy people are able to carry out the most important, and also the most

MEMORIAL RITES.

The Memorial Potlatch.

The most important, as well as the most complicated mourning memorial rite is the mourning memorial potlatch, skwanät, for which so much wealth is required that it can be carried out by chiefs alone. This ceremony, being associated with sisaok rites, has altered enormously in form within recent years. Before the introduction of the qomo'ts and other foreign elements, it was almost indistinguishable from an ordinary potlatch and the two were occasionally combined, having as central feature the return of the deceased in form of his kwaltinta. Among the tribes of the outer coast, especially the Bella Bella, the two types of ceremonial were absolutely distinct, and as the Bella Coola adopted more and more of their neighbours' sisaok ritual, they followed their custom in this respect as well. It is said that a certain Noäkila, uncle of a man now about sixty years of age, was the last to combine both. The Bella Bella felt that he had thereby committed a ritual error for which he would be punished; within a few years he died and the Bella Coola assumed that this was due to the unanimous expectations of his death on the part of the Bella Bella. From that time onwards, the Bella Coola were careful to separate features belonging to potlatches from those of memorial potlatches.

After a comparatively few years, white influence increased enormously on the central coast and the potlatch, including both types, was prohibited by law. Owing to the consequent difficulty of performing complicated rites, the Bella Coola were again led to carry out at a single gathering features which properly belonged to several. To combine the memorial potlatch with the potlatch, being a return to an earlier custom, presented no serious difficulties and was consequently widely adopted. The Kimsquit people, moreover, seem never to have adopted the clear Bella Bella differentiation, and as the rapid decrease in population threw them in ever closer contact with the Bella Coola, their influence tended to lessen differences between the two ceremonials.

At the present time, a memorial potlatch differs only slightly in ritual from an ordinary potlatch. The same rites are often car-

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ried out at both, and each varies so enormously[1] that those which differ are sometimes omitted and the two become identical. None the less, they are never confused in the minds of the participants. The house where a potlatch, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ɬɪm, is taking place is called a nusɬɪmsta, that where a memorial potlatch, skwanät, is occurring, a nuskwanätsta. In giving invitations and making comments, heralds are careful not to refer to the ~~xxxx~~ ritual under the wrong name; in fact, it may be said that the chief difference between the two is in the minds of the donor and his guests. Sociologically, both are considered to be on a par. Equal wealth is required, and each can be performed only by a chief, both on account of the expenditure involved and owing to the difficulties in procedure which are thought to be too great for a lesser man to surmount.

Difference in the donor's motives is usually sufficient to separate a memorial potlatch from an ordinary one. The latter is given by a chief desirous of increasing his prestige by lavish expenditure for which one of the excuses is the validation of the appearance of a dead relative. Although this is the central feature, so many other rites are performed that it is sometimes obscured or may, indeed, be omitted entirely. On the other hand, a memorial potlatch occurs as soon as possible after the death of a father, mother, or other dearly loved kinsman, and it is clear to all that the donor's reasons for the rite are to commemorate the deceased, and to console himself and his immediate family. Confusion is ~~xxx~~ probable only when a chief ~~xxx~~ is bereaved after ~~a chief~~ he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch. More often, however, the affair is ~~xxxxxxx~~ limited to rites associated with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the sɛsaok and aʾɬk societies,[2] as well as no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. Even with danger of repetition, it must be emphasized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and when present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when omitted at a pot-

(1). This point has already been elaborated; see p.
(2). Performance of such rites at a potlatch would be considered sinful by the Bella Bel and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

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latch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for ~~most~~ a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of ~~dearly loved~~ an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no reason for which wealth was so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. A bereaved chief usually endeavoured to marry, fictitiously, himself, his finger, or some other part of his body to the daughter of a wealthy man, considering that the present advantages in the receipt of goods would more than compensate for the return with interest which it would be his incumbent on him to make. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, yeotła, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of rich, ready, fortunate, and revered.

Memorial potlatches, like those of the usual kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the kusiut season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual recounting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and re-counting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the desctruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial potlatch and a potlatch is apparent at

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this distribution of work. Instead of a totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,(1) carpenters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead relative who is being commemmorated. These are erected in the cemetery near the grave and are of ~~two~~ three kinds; ~~it~~ although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's kwa±t·nta. These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by ~~the~~ his first ancestors; ~~of the deceased and~~ it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother, on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may ~~represent~~ portray the post down which ~~swarmed~~ his ~~the~~ ~~his~~ first ancestor ~~of the deceased~~ in the beginning of time, or Mt. Nusq'alst in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers. In fact, any of the dead person's kwa±t·nta may be used according to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several kwa±t·nta, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one ~~usually~~ well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by ~~any~~ members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The psychology of the erection is that the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is therefore equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's life-time, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post. Several Bella Coola emphasized the resemblance between a memorial-post and a white man's tomb-stone, indeed the practice of erecting these for this purpose has become common in recent ~~years~~. Instead of placing a representation of the kwa±t·nta in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some ~~prominent~~ conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemmorated.

The second type of memorial ~~post~~ consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial

(1). Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

potlatches and kukusiutɛk[1] are alone indicated ~~in this way~~ thus, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles ~~indicate,~~ suggest in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post ~~consists of~~ comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are ~~figured~~ pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches. Instead, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a ~~miniature~~ model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away. So too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemmorated in this way; a ~~ma~~ father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to "re-buy" her from her husband. The Victoria Memorial Museum at Ottawa contains specimens of wooden coppers used for this purpose. Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the wealth given away by him, or on his behalf, during his lifetime. ~~With~~ On the intraduction of writing, the Bella Coola ~~have been~~ were quick to recognise ~~that this offers~~ it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected ~~giving~~ that in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tomb-stone. One of these is often ~~erected~~ set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his kwaltɛnta to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ~~memorial-potlatch~~ ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of sɛsaok dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemmorated at the ~~one~~ single ceremony, ~~a mask~~ one must be made ready for each. As

(1). See p. .

the time draws near, envoys are despatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was often carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the messengers may be marked with the same ritual as at a potlatch, but there is always curtailment of sɪsaok features if rites of that nature are to be omitted.

Meanwhile other preparations have not been neglected. Among the prerogatives embodied in many origin myths, is that of the presence of professional mourners at memorial potlatches. If mention of these is made in the origin myth of the donor's ancestral family, it is a matter of pride for him to do as was done by his ancestors in the distant past. For example, tradition may record that at the memorial potlatch of some ancient chief, a number of his younger relatives appeared with red paint smeared upon their faces, with finely chopped undyed cedar-bark in the hair, or with a band of the same material across their heads. Alquntäm had decreed that they should thus exhibit their grief, and the descendants of the chief have since had the privilege of doing likewise. Such signs of mourning may not, however, be worn without proper validation. It is only the members of the ancestral family who are entitled to don such marks, and among them, only those whose right has been conferred by the distribution of presents. It is a masculine professional prerogative, known by the same name as the feminine one of uttering a droning cry to which it is closely akin. The right is ratified at memorial potlatches, and the donor of one is glad to do so as a means of displaying his own wealth as well as making plain the glory of his ancestors to whom the one being commemmorated has returned. There is no mention of professional mourners in the myths of many families, nor are they ever as important in Bella Coola as among the Bella Bella and other tribes of the outer coast. If such belong to the family of the donor, he notifies the incumbents and asks them to be ready although, eager to act, they seldom wait for such an invitation.

The most difficult task is the preparations of mourning songs at which the singers toil for several weeks. The donor first invites them to his house and recounts the myths from which they must be composed. These may include several traditions of different ancestral

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families to which the deceased belonged, irrespective of whether or not he had used ~~the~~ a name from one. Being a member of the group, its songs ~~could~~ can legally be used in his honour. Elements from different myths are often combined into one composition, corresponding to the different localities and characters which the dead person ~~visited~~ has visited in travelling back the ~~course~~ path of his multiple ancestors to the beginning of time. If one person only is being commemorated, four songs are prepared; if several, two are used for each. Three for any individual is unlucky. Two types, skwanät and änultɨnänk, are in common usage and the singers, after conversation with the donor of the ceremony, decide which shall be employed. The former describes in some detail features from one or more of the deceased's ancestral myths, mentions the journey which he has taken to visit the individuals and scenes referred to, and calls on him to assume the form of his first forefather. A common theme is to state the origin of his name, and how he loved it so greatly that he left the earth to follow it back through time and space. The following is an abbreviated version of such a song, based on the origin myth of Käliäkɨs:(1)

"We have been unable to satisfy you here. Go whither Kaliaks came, and become a Raven. Go to the east and get abalone-shell; go to the west and get copper. They will satisfy you."

Another skwanät of the same type is:

"Your first ancestor circled the world with the aid of an abalone-shell paddle. Do you likewise. That will gratify you as nothing on earth could do."

On the other hand, an änultɨnänk seldoms refers to the ancestral history of the deceased, but to his actions during life. It records the number of slaves, canoes and other valuables given away at potlatches and alludes to other praise-worthy actions. This type of mourning song, though usually used only for a chief, can be employed for a dead child. In this case, the theme describes the efforts of the parents to incorporate the deceased in the traditions of their ancestors, and the number of times he had been ceremonially married. The text of one used a few years ago is:—

"We said, '~~Hello~~ Hail! Sinxälotɨa';(2) when she was born. What more could we have done?

(1). See p. 341.
(2). The child's kwaltɨnta was the sun.

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Why did she leave us?"

The text may refer to the prerogative of displaying mourners, as in the following:

"Come ye professional mourners, help me to give voice to my lamentations."

The tunes of mourning songs are usually remembered from year to year, and the singers merely alter a few words to make an old one applicable. In actual fact, such compositions are changed so slightly that they become virtually possessions of an ancestral family, and may then be preserved for generations until even the history of the names embodied is forgotten. Occasionally, ancient relationship between two such groups can be deduced from the occurrence of the same names in their mourning songs although all traditions of intermarriage have been forgotten. There is considerable difference between the tunes of skwanät and anultinänk, in fact, this distinction may be more important than the themes since the latter do not invariably conform to the types just described. A few items of ancestral history may be incorporated into a song dealing primarily with the actions of the deceased and vice versa. Sometimes four of one type are used, sometimes two of each. Much thought is devoted to the composition of these songs, the singers meeting daily to try over and improve one another's efforts. The texts, long and complicated, require much practice, since any error would be an admission of gross inefficiency. These daily rehearsals take place in the donor's house and he is required to provide food for the singers. It is not uncommon to use a song of Bella Bella origin since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe excel in compositions of this type.

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each other's efforts. It is not uncommon to use ~~a song composed by a~~ one of Bella Bella ~~singers~~ origin since the Bella Coola admit that members of that tribe ~~are better composers~~ excel ~~expert~~ in compositions of this type. ~~mourning songs.~~ Such an adoption ~~is~~ occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or ~~theoretical~~ fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune of words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivering of invitations to the ~~summoned~~ desired guests does not differ from the manner described in Chapter IV, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick (donor)". The significance is, of course, that the mourner's ~~grief~~ condition is ~~like~~ that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests to a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous ~~famous~~ orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his ~~the~~ fellow-villagers ~~of the host~~ have ~~entered~~ entered the house and taken their places. No set phrases are used but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in Nusmät'a, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential and the speaker delights in using as many archaic ~~and high sounding~~ words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ~~the~~ ancient history ~~of the Bella Coola~~ as recorded in ~~the~~ mythology, ~~of ancient times.~~ When he speaks of the death, or deaths, which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased ~~has~~ died in old age, he is ~~referred~~ referred to by a special term not in common usage, nuɔik·än, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term poyax, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as sxwu·tl·ämkis, short-lived, a person who has been hunted down by the supernatural artisans. He continues by sketching the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he ~~has~~ gave ~~given~~ and the manner in which his name was known by many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief and of how

sickness alloviated
this has been ~~assuaged~~ by the presence of ~~the~~ welcome guests. Mention is frequently
dead man
made of the journey taken by the ~~deceased~~ to visit the scenes of his ancestral myths.
In addition to being an orator, the speaker must also be a numitl chief since it is
refer to
felt that none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to ~~talk about~~ these
most sacred and important subjects. During the speech, assistants blow eagle-down over
the heads of all present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the speaker has finished, the
heralds call the guests to partake of it. The first course is then distributed, smoked
salmon mixed with olachen grease. ~~Many~~ Speeches are sometimes delivered during this
part of the meal, as well as at the second course, stals ~~and~~ with more olachen grease. If
the guests have arrived during the afternoon, there is no delay ~~between~~ between the
feast and the ritual that follows, but if they have arrived during the morning, there
is a gap until the evening. Guests usually time their arrival for the early part of
the afternoon.

The next event is a speech from one of the visiting chiefs, phrased in grandil-
orator.
oquent terms similar to those used by the Bella Coola. He speaks of the manner in
which the supernatural artisans (a)ve hunted the deceased, but reminds his hearers
that this is because Älquntäm has decreed it, ~~and~~ therefore that ~~it~~ must all be for the
dead man's
best. He refers to the kwaltinta, ~~of the deceased~~ and of the manner in which this
guise will be available for him. During ~~the course of~~ the day, the singers have been
careful to learn the tune of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each
foreign guest likely to speak. This they now beat out, often assisted by some of the
always their
guests, and accompanied by ~~him~~ singing. No one dances to accompany the song, it
is merely a tactful mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself knows ~~about~~
~~him~~ the grief occasioned by a death, and also that he too is sufficiently important
to be able to use a mourning song. If, as is usually the case, there is more than one
different terms
influential chief in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in similar ~~terms~~
~~to another chief~~
the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another mourning song is sung ~~in the~~
in the same way.
~~same way~~ for him. Sometimes as many as five or six speeches are made, each followed

by a song of the same type. Under such circumstances it is impossible for the Bella Coola singers to learn all the tunes, but if five or six chiefs are present, it implies ~~that~~ the presence of a large delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is they who really beat out the tunes, assisted by their Bella Coola confrères. When the last song has been sung, the guests ~~distribute to~~ present their hosts with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the ~~largest~~ most valuable present, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefs to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not returnable; to be each; in fact, to ~~do so~~ return specifically, ~~especially~~ soon after the receipt, ~~unfortunately~~ would be insulting. After the distribution the ~~The~~ evening concludes with the usual meal.

This ritual is ~~should be~~ repeated at the arrival of every group of guests, though ~~often no mourning songs are sung until all are in attendance. In this event, as soon as the last group invited have taken their places and the singers have finished their speeches, the singers beat out~~ it is uncertain whether or not, after the ~~singing of the last~~ song of the final ~~last~~ speaker of the last group all the mourning songs are repeated. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. ~~Then~~ the Bella Coola singers beat out their own compositions, prepared for the occasion. As many of the audience as have learnt these words sing them and every effort is made to produce a fine effect, although there is no dancing. ~~to accompany them.~~ Goods have been placed in readiness and these are immediately given out.

~~distributed~~ The first distribution consists of a gift of equal value to every guest, ~~the~~ any ~~any~~ residue being reserved for the chiefs. Such presents are termed, "tears" and are the marks of the donor's grief. Then food is served, and during the meal there are frequently complimentary speeches from various influential chiefs.

From this point onwards the ritual of a memorial potlatch differs very slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch. An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts ~~that have been~~ erected and to ~~display~~ inform them of the significances of the designs depicted. This ~~some~~ practice has been continued since the introduction of tomb-stones and the meaning of the writing is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in form of his kwitunta and the subsequent use of a copper is the same as described in Chapter IV. This is frequently followed by the singing of a ~~attack~~ mourning song if one of the near relatives ~~of the~~

This ritual is repeated at the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again beaten out after the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the heralds call out:

"Aɬnaixwotsnɩmʌp"

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will take place the following morning and the guests prepare accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests; (1) in such cases the preliminaries just described are, of course, omitted and the above call marks the commencement of the ceremony.

The next day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The mourners are in attendance, each conspicuous with the proper mark. Frequently several of them carry miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal cloaks assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which will now be the forms of the one who has recently died. As soon as all have taken their places, an eloquent chief whose aid has been requested for the purpose, stands up and recounts the donor's ancestral myth in some detail, mentioning the source and meaning of the mourners' marks and the designs of the totem-poles. Then he continues to the effect that the donor will cry by relating the history of his ancestors, which is also the history of the journey taken by his kinsman, and that this recital will shore him up. The word used for this, snutɩɬänkɩn, is the one commonly employed for raising a heavy burden with the aid of a lever. Then the singers begin to beat out the first of the mourning-songs, accompanying it with their voices and assisted by as many of the audience as are familiar with words and tune. Every effort is made to make the singing as impressive as possible to add

(1). This was probably quite common during the period when all potlatch features were omitted.

dignity to the recital of the journey taken by the one to commemorate whom they have all assembled. The guests listen attentively and are suitably impressed by the ancestral history of the donor and his family. All the songs that have been prepared are sung in succession in the same manner. The lack of dancing distinguishes this type of ceremony from all others and adds some-